

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EB-08 SS-15 SP-02 SSO-00  
NSCE-00 SOE-02 DOE-15 DOEE-00 OES-07 INRE-00  
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O 041821Z APR 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7958  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 05019

FROM AMB. VANDEN HEUVEL FOR ASST SEC VEST, ASST SEC KATZ,  
ASST SEC MAYNES, MR SHULMAN, AND MR LAKE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, ECE, ENRG, XH  
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR AN ENERGY CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 079059

1. IN PREPARING FOR ECE PLENARY BEGINNING APRIL 6, I  
BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE GIVE CAREFUL ATTENTION  
AT HIGH LEVEL TO QUESTION OF HOW WE DEAL WITH BREZHNEV  
PROPOSAL FOR AN ENERGY CONFERENCE. IT IS CLEAR THAT  
SOVIETS WILL PRESS FOR SOME MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE AT  
ECE PLENARY, AND WAY WE DEAL WITH MATTER CAN HAVE  
IMPORTANT POLITICAL IMPACT. NOTE: THIS MESSAGE DOES NOT  
ADDRESS OTHER ASPECTS OF BREZHNEV PROPOSAL -- ENVIRONMENT  
AND TRANSPORT -- SINCE US HAS ELABORATED DETAILED  
STRATEGY ON THE ENVIRONMENT PROPOSAL (REFTEL) AND THE  
TRANSPORT PROPOSAL SEEMS TO BE OF MUCH LOWER PRIORITY  
TO THE SOVIETS.

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2. THE PLENARY WILL BE CONVENED IN THE AFTERMATH OF  
BELGRADE. SEVERAL EC AMBASSADORS (FRANCE, UK, BELGIUM)  
HAVE DISCUSSED THE PROSPECTS OF THE ECE MEETING IN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE NEGATIVE SOVIET ATTITUDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
AT BELGRADE WHICH MAKES PROGRESS ON ANY EAST-WEST ISSUES  
IN THE COMING WEEKS A BLEAK PROSPECT. POLAND IS CHAIRMAN  
OF THE ECE PLENARY AND THE GOP AMBASSADOR HAS APPROACHED

ME AT TWO RECENT RECEPTIONS TO URGE THAT THE US LOOK BEYOND BELGRADE AND HELP BRING A POSITIVE RESULT AT THIS CONFERENCE "WHICH HAS MEANING" FOR THE GOP. AMBASSADOR WYZNER TELEPHONED ME TODAY (4/4) TO ASK ME TO MEET OVER THE WEEKEND WITH HIS DEPUTY MINISTER WHO WILL BE ARRIVING ON FRIDAY AND WILL SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PLENARY.

3. DOES THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVE THIS PLENARY HAS ANY SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF SOVIET-US RELATIONS? FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT, WE ARE IMPRESSED THAT "THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS" ARE THE FOCUS OF THE ECE DISCUSSION. THE FACT THAT THE BREZHNEV NAME IS ALWAYS USED TO IDENTIFY THE PROPOSALS WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE A HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PURPOSE OR AT THE VERY LEAST AN OBLIGATION BY THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY TO DELIVER A DIPLOMATIC RESULT WORTHY OF THE BREZHNEV PRESTIGE. (IF THE PROPOSALS WERE IDENTIFIED BY US AS "THE CARTER PROPOSALS", WE CERTAINLY WOULD BE UTILIZING EVERY DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE TO JUSTIFY THE IDENTIFICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT).

4. WE ASSUME THAT BREZHNEV MADE HIS PROPOSALS IN 1975 TO DEFINE AN AREA OF ACTION AND COOPERATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE HELSINKI PACT WHERE THE SOVIETS WOULD BE IDENTIFIED AS SUPPORTING THE PURPOSES OF THE TREATY AND WORKING FOR DETENTE AND PAN-EUROPEAN UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE NOT SEEN AN ANALYSIS OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES RELATING  
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TO THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR AN ENERGY CONFERENCE BUT SEVERAL ARE PLAUSIBLE: (1) THE BREZHNEV STATEMENT WAS DESIGNED FOR INTERNAL SOVIET POLITICAL PURPOSES AND THE NEED FOR A HLM IS TO FURTHER THOSE PURPOSES. (2) THE SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS TO INVOLVE WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RESOURCES IN SIBERIA. (3) THEY HOPE TO BUILD LINKS TO THE WEST TO COUNTER CHINESE MOVES, ESPECIALLY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE DO NOT KNOW THE TRUE NATURE OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES BUT OUR OWN INTERESTS MAY CAUSE US TO RESPOND MORE AFFIRMATIVELY TO THE IMPORTANCE THEY HAVE ASSIGNED TO THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. BY THIS TIME, THE SOVIETS MUST BE AWARE THAT THE PROPOSAL CONCERNING AN ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE HAS BEEN SO CIRCUMSCRIBED AND LOCKED INTO THE LIMITED FRAMEWORK OF THE ECE THAT THERE CANNOT BE MUCH POLITICAL VITALITY LEFT IN IT. IT IS ALSO HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS LOOK TO TBAP, TO LOW AND NON-WASTE TECHNOLOGY OR TO TOXIC WASTES AS THE KIND OF CHARISMATIC ISSUES THAT WOULD HAVE ILLUMINATING POLITICAL FORCE. THE ONE ISSUE HOWEVER, THAT BREZHNEV TALKED ABOUT THAT HAS MONUMENTAL IMPLICATIONS IS ENERGY. IT APPEARS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL PRESS HARD TO HAVE THE

SAME PREPARATORY PROCESS STARTED TOWARD AN ENERGY HLM AS WAS STARTED FOR ENVIRONMENT LAST YEAR. FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL REASONS RELATED TO MAKING A MEANINGFUL GESTURE TO THE SOVIETS AND BREZHNEV, THE FRG AND THE UK HAVE TALKED FAVORABLY OF AN ENERGY CONFERENCE. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT EVEN SOUGHT THE AGREEMENT OF PRESIDENT CARTER REGARDING THIS BREZHNEV PROPOSAL. I WONDER IF THE POTENTIAL OF THIS MATTER HAS BEEN EXPLORED DEFINITELY AS TO ITS USE BY THE PRESIDENT AND/OR THE SECRETARY IN APPROACHING THE SOVIETS WITH A SUGGESTION AND GESTURE THAT WOULD IMPLY RESPECT FOR BREZHNEV AND A US WILLINGNESS TO WORK COOPERATIVELY IN AREAS SUGGESTED BY

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THE USSR.

5. FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO MAKE A SUGGESTION, PERHAPS ON A PRESIDENT-TO-PRESIDENT BASIS, THAT WE SEE CONSIDERABLE MERIT IN AN ENERGY CONFERENCE (POSSIBLY IN 1981) AND WE BELIEVE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SENIOR ADVISERS GROUP BY THE ECE TO BEGIN THE EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS NEEDED PRIOR TO THE PREPARATORY WORK FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE IS IN ORDER. THE TIMING OF THIS ENERGY CONFERENCE WOULD THEN BE SUCH THAT WE COULD LATER RELATE ITS OUTCOME TO THE RESULTS OF THE NEXT CSCE REVIEW MEETING SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN MADRID BEGINNING NOVEMBER, 1980. ANY ONE OF US COULD MAKE STRONG ARGUMENTS FOR OR AGAINST AN ENERGY CONFERENCE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE. IF THERE ARE NO OVERRIDING SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIONS TO SUCH A CONFERENCE (AND FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT I KNOW OF NONE) THE POLITICAL BENEFITS OF

ACQUIESCING COULD BE SUBSTANTIAL AND COULD HELP US TO  
ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES IN OTHER AREAS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS.  
THE SIGNIFICANCE AT THIS POINT, ESPECIALLY AS THE  
DOBRYNIN POLICY REVIEW DISCUSSIONS PROCEED IN MOSCOW,  
IS THAT IT OFFERS PRESIDENT CARTER WHAT I BELIEVE WOULD  
BE A RELATIVELY HARMLESS WAY OF MAKING A GESTURE OF  
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CONSTRUCTIVE AMITY IN A SITUATION WHERE BREZHNEV IS  
PERSONALLY INVOLVED. IF CONSIDERATION OF AN ENERGY  
CONFERENCE HAS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR CHANCELLOR  
SCHMIDT, IT MIGHT ALSO HAVE POSITIVE POSSIBILITIES FOR  
THE US. WE NOTE THAT BREZHNEV IS NOW SCHEDULED TO  
VISIT FRG IN MAY. IT MAY BE LIKELY THAT THE PRESENT FRG  
DOUBTS (REFTEL BONN 05966) WILL BE RESOLVED AFFIRMATIVELY  
BY THAT TIME TO ALLOW A SCHMIDT INITIATIVE. THERE MAY  
BE REASON THEREFORE TO CONSIDER THE PARAMOUNT US  
INTEREST IN THE QUESTION AT THIS TIME. AS MATTERS STAND  
NOW, THE ECE PLENARY WILL BE A LIMITED EXERCISE WHERE  
THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPANTS WILL BE SEEKING AS  
LITTLE ACTION AS POSSIBLE. INDEED, IN THE LIGHT OF  
CONTINUED SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA, THEIR ENCOURAGE-  
MENT OF AN ANTI-US FRONT OF ARAB STATES AND THEIR GENERAL  
TRUCULENCE IN MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN, THIS MAY BE  
EXACTLY THE POSITION WE SHOULD TAKE. WE MAY EVEN WISH  
TO TOUGHEN IT FURTHER IN THE LIGHT OF THESE CON-  
SIDERATIONS. IF THOSE ENTRUSTED WITH THE LARGER VIEW  
DETERMINE THAT FOR THESE REASONS THIS IS THE AP-  
PROPRIATE COURSE FOR THE CONFERENCE, I HAVE NO QUARREL  
WITH THAT INSTRUCTION, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO BE ASSURED  
THAT THE AFFIRMATIVE POTENTIAL OF THE MEETING AS IT  
RELATES TO US-SOVIET RELATIONS HAS BEEN EXPLORED AS  
WELL AS DELIBERATELY REJECTED. VANDEN HEUVEL

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## Message Attributes

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